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THE Detector Detected: OR, STATE of AFFAIRS ON THE GOLD COAST, AND CONDUCT OF THE Present MANAGERS consider'd.

WITH A

Comparison of the TRADE in the late Company's Time——and Benefits since received by the open Plan for extending the same.

Wrote on the COAST.

Shall the unworthy Fatten on Brave Men's Toil.

——*Si tibi* vera *videtur*
dede Manus—et si falsa *est accingere contra.* Luc.

By *J. S. G.* last Commandant of COMMENDA, under the *Royal African Company.*

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REMARKS
ON THE
Gold-Coaſt TRADE,
AND
Conduct of the Officers, for the Publick, there.

ANY Perſon (be he ever ſo indifferent to the Voice of common Cenſure or Approbation) who undertakes to write upon a Subject that hath many Years been the *Debate* of Numbers, cannot fail labouring under, and being chagrined, at ſeveral Prejudices of the Publick; eſpecially when he hath too ſufficient Reaſons, to judge the Majority of the very Claſs of People he appeals to, *from private Motives* determined to condemn (in

a Manner unread, unheard) the Plan of his Operations, which muſt be confeſſed in general a very hard Tribute; eſpecially when paid to the Man, whoſe *Weakneſs to write*, aroſe more perhaps from Motives of Public Spirit, than private Pique or Diſguſt; and whoſe Over-regard for the Welfare of his Country, enforced him to commit to the Speculation of Mankind a Detail of Facts conceived very intereſting, ſuperior to any idle Apprehenſions of Applauſe, or venal Views of Profit.

Had not the Diſadvantages above been well conſidered, the Author intended (according to the beſt of his Judgment) a Diſquiſition on the Trade to *Africa*——to have inveſtigated the ſeveral Branches thereof——ſet forth its extraordinary Advantages to *Great-Britain*, particularly the *Gold-Coaſt* Trade——at the ſame Time, the many Impediments or Inconveniencies incident thereunto——whence its Declenſion in general——and where proper to ſtrike out new Methods and freſh Paths to Benefit and Opulence.

It is again repeated, from the Circumſtances above, and a due Senſe how often, and by how many Gentlemen already (part of whom ſhall be preſently touched on) the Matters aforeſaid have for late Years been *pro* and *con* handled; the Author deſiſted therefrom, and only begs leave to premiſe, That from the firſt bold Adventurer to *Africa*,

in the early Days of *Elizabeth*, to the eſtabliſhing of Settlements and granting the Charter by King *Charles* II. to the diſincorporating the laſt Company, the Trade touched upon, received more Misfortunes and Loſſes ——took up greater Sums to repair the Buildings, and confirm the Whole——underwent more Changes and Alterations——and at the ſame Time was leſs attended to, and underſtood, than, perhaps, any Branch of Commerce the *Britiſh* Nation was ever concerned in. In truth, ſo little hath it been regarded by the Concerned for many Years paſt, that it has been in the Power of ſeveral Enterprizers, never bleſs'd with Diſcretion ſufficient to manage Five Pounds in their own Affairs at Home, nor endued with Judgment enough from Experience or Tradition, to deſcribe the Limits of the Charter; to amuſe the Publick with plauſible Tales; and on the decline of the Company's Affairs, beneficial Views; after the Manner of *De Foe*, who painted Meanders, Viſtoes, and pleaſing Lawns on *Guinea* Banks, Nature never formed, whereby *(and in lieu of ſome Premium, yearly Conſideration or Gratuity)* ſuch Perſons have ſucceeded to the Management of Affairs there, a tolerable Salary——and Uſe of the Supplies, to the Diſadvantage of all Traders to that Part of the Coaſt, the moſt valuable to this Kingdom.

In all fluctuating Societies, or Companies of Merchants and Gentlemen, many more than the Majority are ever to be impoſed on; nay, in the very Trade they are connected to ſupport, a Misfortune owing to the Want of *local Knowledge, and perſonal Experience* of the ſeveral Quarters, Members or Branches the ſame really conſiſts.

What Chance for Truth doth the Good People then in general ſtand, whoſe Ears few other Accounts reach, than the imperfect Relation of ſome incurious Orator, Mariner, or miraculous Traditionaliſt, as little to be credited, and leſs depended upon. 'Tis enough to excite Laughter to hear what Tales ſome People tell of the Trade, Natives, their Tempers, Cuſtoms, *&c.* whereas to touch upon either of thoſe Points, without having lived in the Country, with any tolerable Degree of Truth: The Poſt-Horſe may as well be depended upon to give with Accuracy the Contents of the Mail. Yet ſuch Impoſitions have in general prevailed, and but a very little Time paſt, influenced the Minds of People to ſuch a Degree, that certain Boroughs, far from an Acquaintance with the Trade of *Guinea*, preſented their Petitions to lay open the ſame, as did other Corporations, tho' they have not had Courage for Years paſt, to ſend a trifling Adventure thereunto; nay, when a Joint-Stock Company was ſcarce thought of to carry on this Trade, andkeep

at leaſt 80 or 100,000l. worth of Goods in *Cape-Coaſt Caſtle*, was not an Information made that Merchandize could not be preſerved little longer in *Africa* than a Year, which is abſolutely falſe; becauſe each ſort of Goods will keep ſafe as in *Europe*, with proper Care, eſpecially in the Forts Warehouſes; nay unfortunately do they keep too long before they can be diſpoſed of.

The Company, 'tis true, ſome Years paſt, or particular Friends in their Behalf, in order to ſtem or aſſuage the Torrent that had been long making head againſt them; or the better to palliate ſome Indiſcretions, and obtain an additional Aid for their better Support, occaſioned ſeveral Pamphlets regarding their Charter, Property and Trade to be publiſhed, which it is certain anſwered very little Purpoſe, as the ſame gave no Satisfaction to the Public. One of thoſe Works appeared in 1748, under the Title of *Conſiderations on the Trade to* Africa, a good Pamphlet, and well intentioned.

The ſame Year iſſued forth a Tract in Oppoſition to the Company, called *The Detection*, begun upon the Footſteps of Boldneſs and Confidence, inſtead of Reality and Certainty——repletc with Scurrility, and abounding with more Falſities than any Pamphlet publiſhed for Ages paſt. The chief Deſign of this Work, ſeemed calculated to prove the Forts and Settlements might be

ſupported

ſupported and maintained much cheaper than the Grant of Government, with a Chain of Accuſations againſt the Directors for a long Series, Topics than which, none could be more grateful to the Party for a Diſſolution, and an open free Trade.

In 1749, came out by Mr. *Poſtlethwayt*, Conſiderations on the Trade, and an Attempt to unite the ſame to the *South-Sea* Company; a Tract full of ſuch Facts and nervous Reaſons, that it is confeſſed, had the ſame been carried into Execution, muſt have been with the *South-Sea* Capital, a moſt laudable Change, and would have fully anſwered the Intention our Anceſtors erected thoſe Forts for; but alas! the former of theſe honeſt Tracts, (ſuch was the Humour of the Times,) ſcarce gained a Reader; and the laſt dropped into the peaceful Arms of Obſcurity and Duſt, unnoticed! ſcarce conſulted. No Monopoly was the Sentiment in general, and an open Trade the Language of the Whole.

The Detector, led forth by the pure Spirit of Neceſſity was their Champion, (tho' againſt a former Tract of his, in favour of a Joint-Stock Company) who by Virtue of his Labours, and a wild fanciful Collection of Appearances, ſad Props! got ſufficient Patrons, introduced a new Syſtem, opened the Trade, removed the principal Officer Abroad, and went out himſelf with Supplies, to new

Model

Model and extend the ſame according to the Plan. The better to accompliſh which, a Power was given for any Adventurers, to eſtabliſh Factories on Shore (for ſecuring their Goods or Slaves) as well under Protection of the *Britiſh* Forts and Caſtles, as elſewhere.

From the landing of the Gentleman aforeſaid and taking the Command, the Author commences the ſucceeding Relation; and as great Alterations happened, with regard to turning a-drift the Servants of the old Company under various Pretences (*particularly becauſe they were allowed the Benefit of trading free and open, at the ſame time not regarding their Diſtreſs, or conſidering whether they had any thing to trade upon or not*) he takes upon him to examine into that Part of the national Indulgence, to ſhow what mighty Benefits were experienced therefrom, and to appriſe the Reader (whether he be led from the alluring Proſpects of Succeſs—or compelled by the Frowns of Fortune and melancholly Force of Diſtreſs, to become an Adventurer) what he may expect. At the ſame time to enquire into the extraordinary Advantages received under the new Plan, compared to the Trade when in the Hands of the *old Company*. In which no Circumſtance ſhall be heightened through Prejudice, or omitted through Partiality—only plain Matters of Fact ſhall be ſet forth, which require, as the Reader well knows, no extraordi-

nary

nary Richneſs of Fancy, Art, or Oratory to effect.

There are, it is certain, good-natured People, of all Parties, ſome of whom may be led to think the following little other than an Ill-natured Information begun from Prejudice, and that ſeveral Circumſtances are varniſhed over and aggravated through Malice and Envy. The Author reſts content under ſuch Calumny, and deſires ſuch of the Party would reflect the Affair is national; not only the Safety of our Poſſeſſions in *Africa*, but the Welfare of the *Britiſh* Colonies, Dependance of two Thirds of the Shipping of *Great Britain* are in Danger, ſo well as the Encouragement of our Manufacture and Succeſs of the Merchants ſupporting the ſame, from whom no Diſcoveries ought to be ſecreted. Is it not an Offence of the worſt Species to connive and wink at the Proceedings of a few Perſons who are fatning on the Spoils of their Country?

Muſt an honeſt Trader (for fear of being called a Buſy Fellow) ſee the beſt, the moſt unvaluable Trafic *Great Britain* is concerned in monopolized, by the very Perſon who went abroad to prevent it, *reſt ſupine like the Carter and pray for an Alteration?* No! Common Prudence and the General Good directs him to rouze, put a Shoulder to the Wheel and effect one. Is it not an inconteſtible Truth, when Affairs grow worſe by

conducting,

conducting, be it from want of good Skill or good Principles, Alterations can never be too ſpeedy and ſoon?

Enſe Reſcindendum ne pars ſincera trahatur.

The Tree is known by its Fruit.

To corroborate the ſeveral Allegations hereafter recited, proper Vouchers can be produced. As to perſonal Pique, there truly ſubſiſts none with the Author. In Reality, the Perſons aimed at being far from ſuch Eminence in Life, and the Writer from an abject Condition and Obſcurity, the few who are his Friends can have little Reaſon to ſuſpect Malignance, or that he would endeavour after Acquiſitions by promulging Falſhoods, and wounding the Characters of any Men on the Coaſt of *Africa*.

To proceed then upon the Premiſes following, *viz.*

" The eſpecial Benefits free Traders have " and may receive from the Statute that em- " powers them to become ſuch, compared " with the ſeveral Inconveniencies attending " ſuch Indulgence, whereby it will be plain " and manifeſt, that inſtead of extending the " Trade to *Africa*, the ſame hath been and " will continue to be greatly prejudiced."—

In the firſt Place, whilſt the Governour or Chief of any Caſtle or Fort, under which a free Trader or Commander of a Veſſel hath

or may eſtabliſh a Factory——is allowed to trade himſelf; ſuch Commandant will ever be an Opponent in Commerce to the Factory, and either corrupt the *Cabocheers* and *Traders* from Time to Time, or intimidate *them* to bring their Trade to him. Such Officer hath it in his Power a thouſand Ways to diſtreſs a Rival in Trade. The very ſingle Article of ſetling Diſputes (every little Governour being not only a Chief Factor, but a Chief Juſtice over his Subjects) that happen among the Negroes, is ſufficient alone to oppreſs the moſt powerful open Trader. As the Juſtice of the Cauſe (which hath been already experienced) will ever be given partially the better to induce the Natives to bring their Slaves, Gold, Teeth, *&c.* for Sale, into the Fort.

Again.——To allow his Majeſty's Subjects the Liberty of building Factories, *&c.* on Shore, is granting them a Privilege they can never truly take the Benefit of; which no Man in his Senſes, that hath ever experienced the Coaſt ſo far as to live in a Negro Town, will contend,——it being a Truth that no Law however inforced,—whether by the Oratory of a *Cape-Coaſt Preſident*, ecchoed and re-ecchoed from Chief to Chief; backed by the Efficacy of their choice Artillery, and braveſt Troops of their Gariſons; can poſſibly eſtabliſh a Factory in any Town, unleſs the Natives be ſo inclin'd.

Every

Every Inch of Ground is the Property of the Negroes,——and they are ſufficiently tenacious thereof. The very Caſtles pay them Ground Rent; and no Building can be erected without they firſt ſell the Site, and the Purchaſer pays a Fine and monthly Ground Rent for his reſiding among them; which is no ſmall Hardſhip; not to ſay a Word, that the Buyer is under an Obligation of ſwearing to be *ſubject* to the Negro Laws, to become a *Fellow or Brother Citizen*, to partake of their Quarrels, to defend the Rights and Privileges of each other, and defray great Expences that in no wiſe affect the Officer of a Fort's Trade.

Of what Service pray, in the Judgment of every conſiderate Man, is the Fortreſs of ſuch Town? None, it may be truly anſwered.—for ſhould Diſturbances (which is too frequently the Caſe) happen between the *Forts and Natives*,——the free Adventurers will be reduced, for better Preſervation of their Perſons and Effects, to join the Townſmen and take Arms againſt that Gariſon, which was intended by Statute to be their Defence and laſt Reſort.

The candid Reader, perhaps, may conceive the above, little other than idle Surmiſe and Conjecture; and thence be led to ask an approved Inſtance of ſuch Ills. For his greater Satisfaction therefore, and to ſhow the extraordinary Uſe a Caſtle hath already been to free

Factors, the Inſtances following are humbly offered.

" From *Auguſt*, 1750, the Road from the " King of *Warſaw*'s Camp to *Commenda* " (down which a conſiderable Trade uſed to " be brought to the *Engliſh*) upon account " of ſome Differences with the *Commenda* " Towns-people was ſtopped or ſhut up. " So that no Trade could be brought to the " Fort from that beneficial Quarter, which " rendered the Caſtle little other than a *Mark* " *of Poſſeſſion*, and Priſon to ſecure the de- " linquent Slaves of the Negro Inhabitants. " The Chief having done every thing he " could by Meſſages, *&c.* to reconcile the " Difference until *May* 1751, had recourſe " to the old Coaſt Practice on ſuch Occa- " ſions, and accordingly plyed the King con- " tinually with expenſive Preſents of one " ſort or other, and at the ſame time aſſuag- " ed the Wrath of his own Head-Men and " Cabocheers by virtue of Liquors and Cloth; " inſomuch that in *June* following, both " Parties became Friends, and agreed to " make up the Differences, which was fully " effected and ſtrongly confirmed in *Com-* " *menda* Fortreſs, and Allegiance ſworn to " the *Engliſh*, according to the Cuſtom of the " Country by the *Commanians* and *Warſaws*, " to the great Joy and above 100*l.* Sterl. " Coſt of the Chief.——But, alas, before any " Trade came down in Return for his Ex-

" pences

" pences and Fatigue, the Preſident arrived " under the open Scheme, and without Cauſe " or Enquiry turned out the Chief, who had " entered into Indentures with the *African* " Company and Aſſigns for three Years, and " given great Security thereupon, to make " Room for a Man, who a few Years paſt " acquired ſome Thouſands in the Service, " ſpent the ſame, as the Preſident himſelf " and another of his Colleagues had done, " and adventured again."

The Chief upon his Superceſſion, reflecting on the great Expence and Trouble he had ſo lately been put to, and not knowing what Courſe of Life to purſue, determined upon taking the Benefit of the Statute; and accordingly by Conſent of the Natives, paying a Fine and Cuſtom, erected a Factory in *Commenda* in hopes to partake ſome Benefit from the Trade he had laboured ſo much to revive. On the other hand, his Succeſſor ſoon underſtood the Caſe, and that the Fort Trade might be in ſome meaſure curtailed, therefore was not in the leaſt wanting, either in Vigilance or Induſtry, to render his Competitors Deſigns abortive; a Matter by *his Command* and Dint of the *Government's choice Supplies* by no means difficult to effect. I ſay the Government's choice Goods or Supplies, becauſe the *Preſident* directly on his landing made large Aſſortments of the prime Merchandize for all his Out-Chiefs by way of joint Stock,

and

and having bartered other Parts thereof with a *Portugueze* for a large Quantity of Tobacco, divided the ſame among his Partners, the better to enable them to command the Trade, at their ſeveral Forts, in Oppoſition to, and great Detriment of, every Independant or Free Trader; who was obliged at that time to expend ready Gold with the *Dutch* General for Tobacco to partake of the Trade.

But to proceed; the firſt Method the preſent Chief put into practice to diſtreſs the Trader aforeſaid, was by ſummoning the principal *Cabocheers* and head Traders, Day after Day, into his Fort, where among other Circumſtances, (after ſtupifying them with Drams,) they ſeldom failed of being told, That all Trade from the *Warſaw* Kingdom, Town of *Commenda*, and Villages in its Precincts, muſt be brought and diſpoſed of in the Fort. At the ſame Time urging, The Natives well knew, the Chief was entitled thereto from the firſt building of the Caſtle, preferable to any Perſon who pretended to ſettle a Factory in Town. "A Behaviour as diame-"trically oppoſite to the Statute and Plan he "came Abroad upon, as agreeable and con-"ſiſtent with the old Laws of the Com-"pany."

A ſecond Courſe he took, was on the King of *Warſaw*'s diſpatching his Son twice with Slaves, Teeth and Gold for Sale to the former Chief, in Gratitude for the Peace he had purchaſed,

purchaſed, and performance of the Compact made thereupon; by relaying the Road up into the Country with his Servants and Company's Slaves, and ſtopping the Traders ſeveral Days to tamper with, who in the End, were brought into the Caſtle at Night, where they diſpoſed of their Trade, being firſt well aſſured their former Governor was going to his own Country.——Notwithſtanding this Behaviour, it muſt be confeſſed the Chief is a Gentleman of exceeding good Character, and Maſter of as ſound honeſt Principles as any Man; yet it muſt be granted, under the preſent Circumſtances, his Intereſt did get the better a little of thoſe Principles.

Spirituous Liquor being at this Time ſcarce, one Mr. *Stokes*, who had likewiſe been diſcharged, (and was wandering about the Coaſt) having procured a ſmall Quantity, and ſome dry Goods, ſettled at *Commenda*, flattering himſelf of ſome little Succeſs, and the Caſtle's Protection and Aſſiſtance.——But, alas! No Man could ſucceed there——The Chief on ſeeing two Competitors, only grew doubly reſolute, and by means of a ſmall Preſent, got his Cabocheers to apply to the *Preſident* of the Council——that the two Factories might be demoliſhed, notwithſtanding the Ground was paid for, Building, Cuſtoms, *&c.*

It is true, that Officer, whether out of Fear or Conſcience-Sake, did not agree to the

the Propoſal; but to lend a Helping-Hand towards prejudicing the Traders, ſupplied the Company's Slaves and Free Negroes himſelf with *Dutch* Geneva *, Oranges, *&c.* to trade with in Oppoſition to them.

By the above, and other Methods practiſed during the Space of three Months, neither Slave, Gold, or Teeth was purchaſed at either Factory, although in that Time——ſeveral of the former, many hundred Weight of Ivory, and at a moderate Computation about 30 *oz.* of Gold, were bought in the Fort with the public Goods——and to replace the ſame ——Powder——Knives——Geneva —— and Trade Spirits (unequal in Quality to the Goods expended) were purchaſed of a *Dutch* Interloper in the Road, at two thirds of the Value the Governments Commodities had been diſburſed——to the Detriment of the Free Traders——Encouragement of foreign Manufactures, and great Damage of the poor Garriſon to be ſupported and paid therewith; for the Truth of which a † Deponent is at Hand.

Under theſe Diſtreſſes, the Traders remonſtrated to the Town's Men, the great Expences they had been put to in Purchaſes, Buildings, *&c.* and the Method taken by the Chief to ingroſs the Traffic, at the ſame

* As *per* a Paſs Note, in the Author's Hands.
† The Author.

Time

Time ſet forth——that the Act of Parliament entitled the Factories to the Trade equal to the Caſtles——and thereupon endeavoured to explain to them the Tenor of the Act, but could not avail themſelves in the leaſt thereby——it being impoſſible to make the moſt Apprehenſive among them conceive what a Statute meant.

"*Tando*, King of the Place, who has "been duly experienced to be no Fool, very "gravely demanded the Act, and why the "ſame was not produced and divided among "them——inſiſting if the ſame conſiſted "of Cloth, he was entitled to ſix Fathom, "if of Rum or Brandy four Anchors as "King of *Commenda*."

But on producing the Act, *Tando* obſerving the Compoſition to conſiſt only of Paper, like a true Negroe, attentive only to immediate Intereſt, expreſſed much Aſtoniſhment, that White Men troubled themſelves about Black People. That his Slaves and Subjects had been governed by the old Laws, and always would——That the free Traders might eat upon the Strength of their Statute, the Chief, becauſe he had a Caſtle to protect them, ſhould live by their Trade.

I could mention to the impartial Reader, (were I aſſured he has an Inclination, or any of his Friends to adventure on the Coaſt) other notable Inſtances of the Service that

may be expected from a Fort, and what Emolument from a Factory——which however trifling to the good People of *England* in general, is of much Import to a diſtreſſed *European* in *Africa*, turned a-drift, and in a manner deprived of all Hope of getting his Livelihood, or ever again ſeeing his native Land. But the ſame not being materially requiſite, I ſhall mention a ſingle Inſtance of the Manager's Diſpoſition to do kind Offices, and leave the Reader to determine whether I mean to an *African* or a *Britiſh* Trader.

Pilo, the *Commenda* Linguiſt and Trader, an Arrant Artful Fellow, having owed Mr. *Stokes* two Men Slaves, near two Years, the Creditor thro' want of Employment and Trade, being in great Indigence, (which can't be otherwiſe than the Caſe, among Natives, who are ſtupid to all Acts of Generoſity——and Nature not at all Munificent) informed the Preſident he intended to Panyare* according to the Laws of the Country for the Debt, ſetting forth the Miſeries he was in, and how exceedingly aggriev'd for Want of the ſame to ſubſiſt upon.

To which the Preſident——"That he "muſt be content. The Laws of the Coaſt "ſhould not be executed——nor the Lin-

* Seize *or* Arreſt,

"guiſt

" guiſt be preſſed for Payment, or Panya-
" red upon, becauſe he doubted whether the
" Fellow was able to pay the two Men
" Slaves." Very compaſſionate indeed, to conſider the Affairs of a notorious Negro Cheat—before the ſevere Wants of a diſtreſs'd *European*. The Reader is deſired to Note, when the Term Panyaring is mentioned, he is not to conclude ſuch Negro arreſted, can be ſold directly off the Coaſt. No! the Slave is ſeized as Security for the Debt for a limited Time, generally prefixed, and the Benefit in the Interim got, is the Labour of ſuch Negro to fetch Wood, Water, *&c.* provided the Creditor thinks proper to employ him.

Upon the Preſident's Anſwer, Mr. *Stokes* referred his Caſe to the Natives, who debated the Matter according to their own Method, whereupon the Hardſhip appeared ſo manifeſt, that without the leaſt Heſitation they ſeized four Negroes of the Debtor, and obliged him to render Satisfaction to the Creditor——to the perpetual Shame of the Preſident, for two Reaſons, Firſt, Forbidding the Laws of the Country to be put in Practice to obtain his Due. Secondly, For reducing a *European* to the hard Neceſſity of ſubmitting his Cauſe to Negroes, an unprecedented Thing! tho' Satisfaction was obtained———no Reaſon could the Man have for ſuch Uſuage——but

a Propenſity to oppreſs any Thing in the Character of a Free Trader.

However, forbearing a Numeration of further Grievances,—let us preſume all things to be carried on the Square, and no Methods exerciſed to monopolize the Trade by the ſeveral Caſtles and Forts.—Can any Man ſuppoſe, a private Merchant, who is obliged to pay Cuſtoms, Freight of Goods, Houſe and Ware-houſe Rent, Servants of all Sorts and other contingent Expences, can poſſibly trade with a Perſon envellop'd within Stone Walls,—the Government Supplies to expend Freight-free,—and aſſort himſelf with the Company's Slaves of all Profeſſions, to work; Medicines—Doctors——Ground-rent——Cuſtoms——Linguiſt——and Gariſon paid, Eatables,——Firing——Lights——Preſents to Cabocheers and Traders; in ſhort, exonorated from every Article of Expence, together with a very handſome Stipend. Can the Commander of a Veſſel do it? Why! It is a Fact,—The Chiefs of Forts have determined to give away their Salaries annually among the Negroes, the better to prevent Free Factors Succeſs.——Admit the Trade was equally divided,——the ſame is not ſufficient,——*Two Thirds will ſcarce do, thrown into the Hands of the Merchants*,—the Difference of Expences compared between them and the Servants of the Public.

Would the worthy Merchants trading to *Africa* weigh theſe Truths, not leſs prejudicial

dicial to their Intereſts at Home, than the unfortunate Adventurers deſtined to the *Habitude*, *Converſe* and *Society* of Savages abroad; and at the ſame time conſider the Diſadvantage of being obliged to barter and rebarter with the Refuſe, Cargoes of Ships too frequently damaged, the Grant to Free Commercians will be found a very melancholly Indulgence; as they can never be upon any tollerable footing in Trafic with the Servants of the Committee, whoſe Commodities lie ſafe as their precious Perſons; undamaged by handling or Accident, and far more ſecure than an Opponent's can poſſibly be in a Negroe's Edifice, the Compoſition of whoſe Bulwark is Mud and Ruſh; of which Captain *Boucher* of the *Triton* made a very unlucky Experience in the Town of *Cape-Coaſt*, where he hired an Habitation for his Slaves and ſome Effects, yet through Villany of the Negroes and bad Structure of the Place, *loſt ſix in a Day*, notwithſtanding a very good Guard was continually kept upon the Spot. How precarious then is Property? Was not the Warehouſe of Meſſrs. *Roberts* and Company broken open and robbed?——a Crime never known till *Europeans* ſettled in Negro Towns.——It is worth at leaſt 20 *per Cent.* Inſurance from Fire. In reality, a Factory built under the Guns of a Caſtle, is no more a Security for a Man's Property, than the Trade to *Africa* may be ſaid to be extended,

becauſe

becauſe it is made free and open. The firſt is a meer Joke, the laſt a Reflection on Common Senſe; becauſe the Materials that compoſe the former are but Ruſh and Dirt; the Methods taken to effect the Latter, ill judged, and deſtructive. For Inſtance,

The Director after his landing, [whether through the Pride of his good Succeſs to the Office, or to gain the plauſible Name of Clemency, and thereby pave a Path to the very Souls of the Negroes,—or from an Imagination the Trade would be extended,] abrogated the antient Laws of the Natives to the old Company—renounced panyaring for Debts, or Stock for Support,—ſet Blacks on an Eſtabliſhment with Whites,—and permitted them to trade unlimited as *Britiſh* Subjects;—the Conſequence of which was,—that the Negros, ſoon as they underſtood the Indulgence, ſupplied themſelves with Merchandize from the *Dutch at an under Price*, and carried all Traffic before them in ſeveral *Engliſh* Towns; a Practice till then unprecedented. *Britiſh* Commodities lay on hand, whilſt thoſe of Foreigners were diſpoſed of to ſuch a Degree; thirty-nine * Caſes, twenty-four Ankers of Spirits, with nineteen Kegs of Powder and other Species of Goods were ſold at *Engliſh Commenda* by the Negroes one among another in the Space of three or four Days. Many other Inſtances can be given of

* As *per* Teſtimony of the Author.

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the like Practices, to the great Detriment of the *Britiſh* Trade.

The Government grants ten thouſand Pounds a Year to ſupport the Forts and Settlements, the better to preſerve and Strengthen the *Britiſh* Intereſt,—or in other Words, to repair and garriſon the ſeveral Structures or Buildings, ſo as to be defenſible and protect the Natives dependant thereon (whom, I conceive, to be the *Britiſh* Intereſt) from the Tyranny of their Neighbours. The Security of the *Engliſh* Negroes, is the Safety of the *Britiſh* Welfare. The more ſtrong and impregnable the Caſtles are kept, and Authority exerciſed, the greater the Subjection, the firmer and more unanimous the Love of Negro Subjects.——On the other hand, as the Structures fall to Ruin, and mean People get into command,——the Native's Obedience decays in Proportion,——and Authority grows deſpiſed. ——From ſuch Governments Dependants withdraw by Degrees,——and ſettle under Maſters where Protection is more ſecure and Authority better preſerved.

It is well known Protection is the grand Point a Negro deſires,——oppreſs him as much as Mortal can invent; he will bear it with Patience, provided he is ſenſible *himſelf and Family are defended in Palavers.*—No greater Inſtance of the above need be obſerved than from the Government of our good Friends and Allies.

Now,

Now, to grant the Natives the Protection they want, at the great Expence aforesaid, and a free Trade with *English* or Foreigners (the latter of which they publicly embraced with a *Dane* in the Road of *Cape Coast*) is a Point that wants much ecclaircising.

If it was conjectured, by throwing the Trade into as many Hands as possible by virtue of the open Plan, it might grow *brisker* than ordinary, whence *a larger Quantity* of *English* Manufacture would be vended on the Coast, and the *Trade extended*, the same was a Mistake;——it being a Certainty, less Commodities have been bartered between the Forts and Settlements since the Act, than hitherto known for a long Season. The Merchants in *England* can Experience the Truth of this by inspecting their Books, whereby the State of Trade may be seen, as it stood in the Company's Time; and the additional Increase from Shipping and Adventurers, under the present Plan. With regard to Blacks——the Reader may ask, if the usual, or an additional Quantity of *British* Merchandize is expended, what does it avail, whether sold by Negroes or Whites, the Nation in general is advantaged thereby ——if Particulars are not?

In Answer,—The Natives were never allowed to trade in foreign Commodities under Pain of great Penalties—nor to go on board Ships to Merchandise: When any of them

them did venture, it was in the Night and with great Caution; becauſe upon a Diſcovery all became forfeited. To permit them the Benefit of going aboard *Engliſh* Veſſels, is permitting them to board whom they pleaſe: A Negroe will never be confined to an *Engliſh* Veſſel, eſpecially when his Intereſt is at Stake. For Inſtance, The late Governor *Roberts*, from a good Intention to lay the Trade open as poſſible, permitted the Negroes the Indulgence of carrying off their Slaves to *Engliſh* Shipping without Interruption, but ſoon grew convinced of his Error ——for upon Captains *Darbyſhire* and *Boats* driving a *French* Ship out of *Elmina* Road, that commanded all the *Fantyn* Trade, tho' ſix Leagues from *Anamaboe*, the Commander run into *Cape-Coaſt* Road, under Pretence he wanted Water, which, upon Aſſurance he would not trade, the Governor granted,—— and for better Certainty, ſent an Officer on board, as did Captain *Darbyſhire* to prevent any ſuch Practice; the latter lying with his Veſſel, as did Captain *Boats* within Cable's Length of the *French* Ship: Yet, notwithſtanding all their Precaution, and Care of the two Officers on board, the Negroes went under the *Frenchman*'s Stern in the Night, put their Slaves in at the Cabbin Windows, and received Goods in three Nights time for 40 or 50 Slaves.—— In the next,—— it hath been already urged,

that a leſs Proportion of *Engliſh* Merchandize than uſual hath been conſumed;—— That the Negroes buy foreign Goods principally to trade with, and diſpoſe of their Slaves to the Cuſtomers that give the beſt Price *i. e. Dutch, Portugueze,* and *French,* as aforeſaid, to the great Prejudice of the *Britiſh* Merchant and *Weſt India* Planter.

Can a rational Man, under the preſent Management of Affairs, think the Trade more open, and the Public more advantaged than when it was veſted in a Company,——who for Years paſt ſent no Ships thither, nor permitted their Officers to trade,——other than to extenuate the national Supplies for better Support of the Forts,——whilſt the private Adventurers reaped the Harveſt of the Trade, grew opulent on the Profits thereof,—— clamoured for an open Trade,——a Joint-Stock Company condemned as deſtructive, and at the ſame time took the very Steps to eſtabliſh one——the ſame is eſtabliſhed—— is confirmed on the Spot——is ſupported from *London* and *Holland,* and muſt ſoon become more formidable and pernicious to Trade in General——than any Company or Floating-Factory.

How abſurd is it to call a Trade Free and Open, when the very Servants ſent out to make it ſo, and promote the common Benefit, at good Salaries, are permitted to combine——to monopolize the ſame——not only

only within the Limits of the Forts, but by dint of ſmall Craft——(repaired, ſheathed, and fitted up by the Slaves of the Public, and public Timber at no Expence) even to the Extremities of the Charter; nay, for ſuch Purpoſe to convert the national Supplies; to receive large Conſignments from *England*——and the very Means of tranſporting Slaves purchas'd to *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, &c. at prime Advantage thrown in their Way, to the great Damage of the Merchant-Adventurers, who in common Juſtice ought to have at leaſt ſuch Privilege.

I repeat again, a Joint-Stock Company ſubſiſts——of the worſt Sort——a powerful, private One——the general Good unattended to——(*i. e.*) the Trade is engroſſed at firſt Coſt——diſpoſed of to vaſt Advantage——or tranſported by Veſſels to the *Weſt-Indies*, and the Ballance divided between a few Managers, who ſtudy nothing more than to make the utmoſt Penny during their Continuance on the Coaſt——but when an Incident happens whereby the General Intereſt might be promoted, ſuch as opening a Path for Trade, making up a Palaver, *&c. &c.* not a ſingle Step is taken, or Farthing expended to effect it,——becauſe ſuch general good Plan, muſt ever claſh with a well-concerted private Intereſt, I call that a well-concerted Advantage, which

is well ſupported, and proves moſt deſtructive to the General Good——in ſhort, it may be ſaid, as in the Caſe of *Catiline*, that there are as many Conſpirators againſt the Commonwealth, as Perſons employ'd in it.

In Governor *Robert's* Time, not the leaſt Endeavours were exerciſed to engroſs or monopolize the Trade——he made it as free and open as poſſible, demoliſhed a Factory at *Mumford*, belonging to the Council at *Cape-Coaſt*, for the Benefit of Captain *Graham* of *Briſtol*, who ſettled his Mate there ——and Captain *Darbyſhire* of *Liverpool* is appealed to——if he had not the Trade, Uſe, and Command of *Tantumquerry* Fort, all the Time he lay at *Anamaboe* and elſewhere.

Is it not a Truth——for of Truths I write ——that for ſeveral Months before the open Scheme, the Price of Slaves was fallen in the *Fantyn* and other Couneries, by Means of the worthy Governour and Commanders *Darbyſhire*, *Boats*, *Powers*, &c. to ſeven Ounces, which directly on the Change of Affairs, roſe to eight, nine, and ten—— could it be otherwiſe, when Factories got eſtabliſhed——and Negroes impowered to trade againſt them, Factories contending not only againſt their ſooty Opponents——but each other——and the Caſtles, with the choiceſt national Supplies, waging a War in Commerce with all Parties —— whereby every

Slave

Slave brought to Market, ſuffered re-bartering half a dozen Times, before he came into Poſſeſſion of a Commander of a Veſſel.—Each Buyer, be he of whatſoever Complection, the Reader may depend, gets ſome Profit—whom is it fixed upon in the End, with the Impoſitions hereafter? The Captain moſt aſſuredly, that laſt ſhips the Slave on board—who to exonerate his Owners, hopes to ſaddle the *Weſt-India* Planters with the Coſt—and if he fails, the former ſuffers by the Purchaſe.

Can any Perſon be ſo weak to imagine, or contend, Goods will ſell faſter and at a better Price when the Market is ſur-charged—or that Slaves will fall in Value, when the Coaſt ſwarms with Shipping? If the contrary—how is Trade extended? I ask again—wiil more *Engliſh* Commodities be vended to Advantage by half a dozen Factories eſtabliſhed in a Negroe Town, than if there ſtood only one? or will *African* Commodities be lowered or advanced—where there are ſix Bidders inſtead of one? if the latter, on what Side falls the Ballance? the *African* moſt aſſuredly! the very Party it ſhould not.

If by the Number of Buyers, the Value of *Britiſh* Merchandize is leſſen'd, and Price of Slaves advanced, inſomuch, that a Negro receives as much Merchandize for two as he ought for three Slaves,—it may be asked whether

whether ſuch Negro will diſpoſe of two or three Slaves at a time, and if in general a greater or leſs Number will be brought to Market,——it is anſwered,—(the Diſpoſition of Blacks well underſtood) two will be diſpoſed of inſtead of three, and fewer be brought to Market when Slaves bear a great Price, than a ſmall one.——Neceſſity makes a Negro ſell, but nothing can tempt him to ſell more than will anſwer ſuch Neceſſity:——How then is Trade extended?

I refer to the Commanders of Veſſels at *Annamaboe* in 1749, what raiſed the Price of Slaves to 13 *oz.* was it the Scarcity,—— or Number of Ships to purchaſe.

It was a thing much canvaſſed on the Gold-Coaſt,——when the Scheme for a Joint-Stock Company was on the Anvil,——that Clamours aroſe, and Inſinuations prevail'd of Deſigns to lay a Tax upon this Trade,——the Foundations for which we were Strangers to. Certainly the Good People of *England* can never be too apprehenſive of their Rights, nor too tenacious of their Privileges, but whatever were the Deſigns, had a Joint-Stock Company taken place,——it is certain under the preſent Plan a heavy Impoſition has flouriſhed upon Commerce in *Africa*.——For Inſtance, Each Slave,—good or bad—old or young,—a White Trader buys on Shore, the Town Cabocheers demand a Cuſtom of twenty Shillings,——the Seller twenty Shillings——

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the Broker or Jobber, ten Shillings——beſides a Preſent of ten Shilling in Liquor for all Parties to drink on their Journey home without paying thoſe Impoſitions. A *European* may periſh in his Dwelling. Under theſe Predicaments has not the Trade ſuffered?

Whilſt Party hath contended with Party, and Schemes been oppoſed to Schemes, the true Method of improving this ineſtimable Trade has been overlooked, and not a Step taken but hath rendered it worſe.

Who has reduced the Price of Negroes? and, who endeavoured to ſtock the Markets therewithal? Without both, can the Planter live, or the Prices of his Commodities be lowered in *England*.

Whether the Trade continues open——be veſted in the *South-Sea* Company——or a Joint-Stock;——theſe ought to be the grand Attempts.——The Methods to accompliſh them are at hand,——are plain as the Sun.——*Of which when ſought for, a Plan.*

The open Plan was ſuppoſed by moſt People to have been introduced to ſet aſide or diſunite the late Company;——and the Act that confirmed it, calculated to allow Negroes Liberty of carrying their Slaves on board *Engliſh* Veſſels without Reſtraint, and at the ſame time prevent Captains trading to Windward, from taking off Negroes unduly,——or Pawns,——or panyaring in lieu of Goods entruſted,——whereby much Differences hath been

been created.——It is ſuggeſted the preſent Director taking theſe Premiſes in too large a Senſe,——repealed the old Law of panyaring in its full Extent.——

I muſt here beg the Reader's Patience on the Affair of panyaring, *&c.* with regard to Commanders of Veſſels, it is well known, from *Cape Apolonia* to the *Volta*, no Inſtance is recent for Years paſt, that any of them has taken from off the Coaſt a ſingle Negro without juſt Cauſe, and conformable to the Laws of the Country.

When a Perſon panyars (as obſerved heretofore) it is for a Debt,——Offence,——or Pawn.——Pawns (though not of the Human Species) are taken in *England*, and ſold if not redeemed in a limited Time: Why then to be forbid in *Africa*, when the very Conſtitution of the Country ordains it? The Negroes preſcribe Laws to the *Europeans*,——and deſire no greater Favour, than to be governed by their own Edicts.

Here, perhaps, a Hint to avoid truſting and taking Pawns, may be offered. I defy a Trader to ſay there are any Dealings to be made without. Speculation in *England*, and Practice in *Africa*, are two wide Points. It may be asked with reſpect to the Grain Coaſt, Whether a Cuſtom hath not long prevailed there of entruſting Goods for Proviſions, and if without, a ſufficient Quantity can be procured. Now when a Uſage hath acquired ſo much

much Footing as not to be ſet aſide,——what is a Commander with 150 Slaves on board to do? are all to grow meagre and half ſtarved, preferable to lending 50 or 100 Bars to buy Eatables.——Is the Risk of truſting a few Goods on ſhore to purchaſe Rice, *&c.* on Pledges, in any Proportion with the periſhing of his Negroes for want thereof? and and what is he to do, if the roguiſh Trader runs away with the Merchandize, and regards not his Faith or Pledges? Is the former to do it and extend his Mercy? On ſuch Occaſions, Sureties have been taken away, and Reprizals made by the Natives. Is there a Man whoſe Temper can ſuffer a Negro Impoſition, or his Owner's Property pillaged out of his Cuſtody, and not procure himſelf Satisfaction? If there is, I deem him unfit for Employ.

To prohibit the Benefit of panyaring,——and ſecuring of legal Pledges,——is deſtructive to the Trade——with the ſame Parity of Reaſon might the Privilege of buying *Africans* be reſtrained,——the former paſt doubt being as lawful as the latter.

Great Part of the *Gold-Coaſt* Negroes ſold, are panyared or condemned on Palavers. No Man is exempt from it, or can plead his Safety;——Freedom being little other than the Dream of a Night,——ſo tranſitory as to deſerve neither Reſpect or Attention; the Poor being ever in Subjection to the Rich,

the Weak to the Strong; *Cudjo* is as liable to be ſold off the Coaſt as either his Houſehold Slaves.——It is no new thing that Kings and Cabocheers, when unſucceſsfull againſt mightier Powers, are ſacrificed to Bondage without Reſerve.

When People at home, who meaſure Right and Wrong by the Standard of their own Laws, and judge of Actions by the Proportion of Humanity and Virtue they have been bred to, and practice in their Intercourſes with each other,——are informed the Officers on this Coaſt could ſend into their Towns and ſeize the Natives Stock for Subſiſtance, they marvel at ſuch arbitrary Acts, call it Cruelty and a thouſand bad Epithets,——without conſidering, or perhaps being ſenſible, that each Native owes his Freedom,——Life,——and daily Bread to the For[illegible]ne lives under,——and that the old Company dearly purchaſed ſuch Immunities.——

It is not forty Years paſt the Natives along the Sea Coaſt, dared adventure five Miles into the Country (and in many Places at this Day can't go from under the Forts)——the In-land Negroes being at ſuch Enmity with them, that whenever Revenge or Neceſity urged, ſtrong Bodies came down and laid waſte the Water-ſide Towns——panyared Numbers of ſome,——and laid heavy Fines on others;——which the Company at times,——when the Cauſe was right,——

by

by the Authority of their Officers——redreſſed,——and when wrong,——advanced conſiderable Sums for the Redemption of ſuch Dependants. And whenever the Officers are incapable of exerciſing ſuch Authority and Power; whether from the Neglect or ill Support of the Structures, or want of Means to advance Sums for ſuch and other Purpoſes; the Natives will immediately ſeek Protection under the Settlements of other Nations contiguous to them, of which many Inſtances can be given.

Now in lieu thereof, and to render ſome Gratification——the Inhabitants empowered all Officers——to ſeize Sheep, Goats, *&c.* for their Support——paying for the ſame——and to panyare one Negro upon Account of another, for Debts juſtly owing. The Company enjoyed theſe Privileges, as Lords of the ſeveral Seigniories circumjacent to their Forts; when they diſpoſed of thoſe Caſtles to the Public, they diſpoſed of the Privileges annexed to them; and for what Reaſon the ſame are given up, by order of a ſingle Man, being veſted in the whole Nation for the public Benefit; and not arbitrary Oppreſſions——but fundamental Laws eſtabliſhed by the Natives, and as before obſerved, dearly paid for by the Company, is to me unaccountable.

Was a large Eſtate in *England* veſted in many Families——the Profits of which

aroſe from the ſeveral Fines, Fees, Forfeitures, &c. under Management of a Steward, who inſtead of collecting ſuch Benefits, and keeping the Tenants to their Suit and Service according to Cuſtom ——— let the ſame lye dormant, or voluntarily threw them up into the Hands of the Tenants, would it not be ſhameful to let him paſs with Impunity.

Adieu *Britiſh* Authority———the Negro is empowered to offend——unnoticed——to run in a *Britiſh* Subject's Debt, without Danger to his Perſon——or the Liberty of Satisfaction from the Pledge put into his Hands. When a little more time has given Sanction to theſe things, farewell every *Veſtigium* of a *Royal African Company*——— *Delenda eſt Carthago*———

It is very Concerning to ſay———and what will ſcarce gain Attention——the Negro Laws, in many Inſtances, are as wiſely calculated——as thoſe of ſome *European* Countries——too few, could the Natives write, to need regiſtering or employ Caſuiſts upon; every Man being his own Advocate, and well verſed in his *Magna Charta*.

Pawning and Panyaring are ſuch Laws no *Chriſtian* Nation can boaſt——it is the very Reaſon here are no Jails for Debtors, nor magnificent Hoſpitals upon generous Endowments for the Indolent and Poor.

If a Negroe wants Money——be he Old or Young——Decrepid or Robuſt——he

can

can pawn himſelf——or his Son——his Siſter or Siſter's Child——to his Neighbour, for a Sum payable at a Day certain;——and until ſuch Debt is paid, lives as much——nay more, ——a Slave to the Lender, than if he had actually ſold himſelf. Becauſe if the Pledge dies (the Debt undiſcharged)——the Creditor panyares upon the Family, even to the hundreth Couſin, and his Heirs in like Manner, from Generation to Generation.

If the Conſideration is a Crown, it is as effectual as 500l.——When all *Africa* is indebted to each other, who then is a Freeman? A Cabocheer that hath perhaps ſecreted in the Bowels of the Earth, three Tons of Gold Duſt, will pawn himſelf on a trifling Emergency to three or four different Perſons, for two Ounces *, before he will break into his Hoard, or let his good Circumſtances be known——ſo fond is he of Wealth——ſo charmed to be deemed Poor.——In ſhort, borrowing, lending, panyaring, and ſelling, is the whole Commerce of a Negro Town ——and to forbid either, argues the greateſt Inſenſibility of the Conſtitution of *Africa*. Upon the very Cuſtom of Panyaring——the Prerogative, Structures, and Property of the *Engliſh* Nation hitherto hath been, and muſt ſtill be, by the Exerciſe of, ſupported; —— tho' ſo little underſtood, and ſo eaſily relinquiſhed of late.

* Eight Pound.

Upon

Upon a Diſpute with the Natives, or our dangerous Friends and Allies, (a Thing too often experienced), there is no certain Point of proving the *Britiſh* Right, to Towns in the Country——to cut Timber in the Foreſts ——to collect Shells and Coral for Lime, to repair the Fortifications; than by making manifeſt that the Officers belonging to the Company daily panyare in ſuch Diſtricts—— and have exerciſed ſuch Authority for Years paſt.

The very Act of Panyaring —— determines Right and Title——and is a ſufficient Juſtification that the Natives live in Vaſſalage, for the Protection they receive from the Forts; (that is,) they prefer doing Suit and Service to White People, before the leaſt Conceſſion to their own Colour. The *Engliſh*, without Partiality, ſeldom or ever make Seizures out of their own Territories.——Our Allies break the Rule too often (preſuming on their ſuperior Strength). They claim the extenſive Foreſt of *Atchua*, where the *Engliſh* hath fell'd Timber, and gather'd Materials for Lime, *&c.* Time out of Mind, upon no better Foundation than becauſe a *Dutch* Slave ſays, the *Accoda* Chief ſent him thither in a Time of Famine, fifty Years paſt, to panyare Corn.

Further,——When a Day comes of putting the tatter'd Remains of the Forts into repair, (tho' God knows when that may happen, no Trowel having been injured by Mortar,

tar, ſince the Alteration of Matters) how is the ſame to be accompliſhed——if the Preſcriptive Uſuage of Panyaring is forborn, the Slaves collected from every weak Hold, will be found much too feeble and inſufficient to repair a ſingle Curtain.

A Fort Slave, however robuſt, will do but a certain Proportion of Work; no Scourge can hurry him with his Burthen; no good Words expedite him to his Labour; he well knows himſelf a Slave for Life.

The Drudgery of haling Timber from the Woods, collecting Stones, Shells, *&c.* was chiefly perform'd by the Natives in ſubjection to the Forts; and ſo often as any refuſed their Aſſiſtance, without Diſtinction, the Offenders were panyared upon, and made Examples of Diſobedience.

Upon a Repreſentation of Governour *Roberts* to the Natives of *Commenda*, that the Repairs of the Caſtle ſhould be proceeded upon, as ſoon as Wood, Timber, and Stone, could be got ready, well-knowing their Duty, not only undertook the Work without Heſitation, but entered into Covenants * if the ſame was not performed, the Chief of the Fort, ſhould panyare upon the Town, to the Value of 20 Bendys †.

* See Agreement in the Hands of the Governour.

† One hundred ſixty Pound.

Now to relinquiſh ſuch Rights (the Bulwark of *Britiſh* Intereſt), is to renounce all Title to Poſſeſſion.

The very Natives ſoon contemn and diſlike ſuch Commanders, and ſtruggle to ſhake off Allegiance, well judging thoſe Perſons who will not maintain their own Privileges, very unfit to be entruſted with other Peoples.

Dies hora momentum evertendis
Dominationibus ſufficit quæ Adamantinis
Credebantur Radicibus aſſe fundatee,
Says *Caſaubon.*

Still further, how grievous is ſuch Reſtriction, when it extends to the Article of Negro-Proviſions; how are the Garriſons to ſubſiſt, (from Short-Pay and Inclemencies, the Generality are more fit for Hoſpitals than Fortifications) being paid in Goods at three, ſix, and and nine Hundred *per Cent.* advance, as Flower, Biſcuit, Pipes, *&c. &c.* to oblige them to go to Market for their Neceſſaries! the Salary of each ought to be five Times enlarged.

On the Negroes advancing the Price of Proviſions, ſeveral Soldiers deſerted one Night, in hopes of getting Employment under the *Dutch*———for it is almoſt impoſpoſſible to run away on this Coaſt; which they ſoon experienced, being brought back next Day, and to the Mortification of a Num-

ber,

ber of Spectators, cruelly flogg'd and pickled.

When the Servants enjoy'd their ancient Privilege, Diſtreſſes were ſeldom known, nor were Murmurings heard. The Salaries bore Proportion to the Value of Proviſion, and at whatever advance Dependants were paid Goods; the Natives never refuſed accepting them for eatables.

If *Britiſh* Subjects adventure hither——they muſt have neceſſary Support (Nature, as hinted before, is not at all Munificent here), and what does it avail a Director to give up a ſpecial——a national Advantage when no Utility can redound thereby, to a ſet of People, who know themſelves not entitled to it; in truth it is doing little other, than diſtreſſing the moſt diſtreſſed.

Lenity to *Africans*, in its Conſequence, will ever be experienced Barbarity to *Europeans*.——There is no cultivating a Friendſhip among them by meek Uſuage, nor obtaining a Pennyworth of extraordinary Trade by genteel Treatment.——There is no waſhing them White.——A tight Rein, and a ſtrong Arm, with continued Preſents, makes them honeſt to their Truſt, and firm to their Obedience.——Meek Treatment and neglect of Daſhees * meets the contrary Return. Compaſſion is an Impulſe ill-beſtowed on a Savage, whoſe earlieſt Rudiments, with regard

* Negro Term for Giſts.

to an *European*——are to look upon him as his Property, to get whatever he can from him *by any Means*;——and in all Matters that regard his own Complexion, never to divulge a Truth. To be brief, The Inſtant they became ſenſible their Lords renounced the ancient Grants; that they were lifted to the level of White Men; and the Form of Government changed, Negroes ſtood on Tip-toe, and ſtruggled for Preheminence. *Europeans*, whom they reverenced but few Days before, received Inſults; nay, the Condeſcenſions of the Director made them ſo confident and bold, that few Days paſſed but ſome *Britiſh* Subject or other, got injured or wounded. A Negro, after robbing an *Engliſh* Sailor, maim'd him under the Walls of *Cape-Coaſt*, becauſe the Man demanded a Return of what had been ſtolen. The Day ſucceeding, had it not been prevented by Governours *Roberts* and *Stockwell*, one *Charles*, an honeſt Sailor had loſt his Head, for preſuming to bid a noiſy Negro hold his Tongue. Upon Complaint of theſe Hardſhips no Redreſs could be had; ſilent ſat the *Senatus Conſilium* and unmoved. How terrible in any State is authorized Ignorance.

Reader! theſe are not Dreams, nor did the Miſchiefs terminate here: The Negroes——crafty Generation! trump'd up a Number of Sores on the Subject of Panyaring, and obliged many of the diſcarded Servants, reſiding among

among them (a Situation greatly to be commiſerated) to pay again and compound for Proviſions, they had long before the Company were diſunited, been ſatisfied for.—— A Fool may fire a Piſtol, but the wiſeſt Man can't tell who may be hurt by the Glance of the Ball,——In truth, ſo far did they carry Matters———as to ſeize the Governours of *Accra* and *Winnebah* on their Journey to *Cape-Coaſt*, drubb'd both ſoundly according to their Cuſtom, and obliged the latter to pledge two Slaves for 48 l. on pretence that ſome Months paſt he had taken a Hog out of his Town, and had no Right by the Law of the new Director.

O Son of *Delilah!* thou haſt trim'd and ſhorn the Locks of ten thouſand *Sampſons*, and firſt broke that favourite Edict, thou wer't ſo ſtrenuous to eſtabliſh.

Here a Tale, which the Reader is at Liberty to paſs over, if Sleep, Humour, or an Aſſignation permits him not to conſult it, *viz.*

In *September* 1751, His Majeſty's Ships *Glory* and *Swan* anchor'd at *Cape-Coaſt*, the Officers on invitation came on Shore, whom the Preſident was ſo perplexed for Proviſions to entertain (having relinquiſhed the Power of ſeizing Stock on ſuch Occaſions, and being unwilling ſo manifeſtly to expoſe himſelf by renewing it again upon the Natives) that the Company's Slaves were diſpatched to fetch Stock, from the Houſe of a free Merchant

reſident in Town, which they enter'd, and forcibly carry'd away his Sheep, the poor Pittance, that with Expence had been procured, and with Difficulty preſerved for Proviſion on his Voyage homewards. Hard Uſuage to poor Men! eſpecially in a Part of the World where there is no Law to avail themſelves of——where Juſtice is meaſured by the Proportion of Profit——where the Will of a Baſhaw is the ſupreme Rule and Standard, by which all Things are to be judged good—or bad.

The Gentleman wrote the Note following,

Sir,

The Cooks have enter'd my Dwelling, and carry'd away my Sheep, for what Reaſon I know not; if you countenance them in ſuch unjuſtifiable Proceedings, I ſhall have very little Regard to them as Company's Slaves, or Reſpect to Yourſelf, as Governour of Cape-Coaſt.

Upon which Cabocheers, Peynins * and Negro Soldiers, were ſummoned into the Caſtle, and loudly harangued to, eſpecially by one † of the Council, who had the Barbarity to excite them to bring a Palavor upon the Trader for his inſolent Note, and to examine how he dared to reſide in Town,

* *Peynins*, old Negroes who ſit to hear Cauſes.
† Young.

(although

(although the Houſe he lived in was his own) without paying a Cuſtom to the Natives of four Crowns upon each Slave he purchaſed. In ſhort, the Negroes were told in general, to eat (in the Language of Blacks) the Trader's Gold, Slaves, Teeth, and Liquor, that no Cognizance ſhould be taken of their Proceedings. In Conſequence of which, he was forced and compelled into the Market-Place, to be tried by the *Cape-Coaſt* King, and ſome hundreds of Negroes. Before the Tribunal of *Cudjo*. An Inſolence never heard of, or attempted ſince the firſt Eſtabliſhment of the Trade. But Neceſſity hath no Law. ——There is no withſtanding the Commands of People who can cloth the moſt flagrant Injuſtice, with the Livery of Authority.

The Captains * of the Ships of War, Governour *Roberts*, and ſeveral *Europeans* led thither through Compaſſion, were Witneſſes of the Affair, and Nature of a Negro Court of Judicature, where all Tongues were ready to Arraign, but every Ear deaf to Defence.

The Matters alledged were, That the Defendant being ſettled in a Town, had not given Preſents of Liquor to the Peynins ſo often as they viſited him. That he did not pay Four Crowns Cuſtom on each Slave purchaſed, that his Sheep being panyared to entertain the Officers (the Natives having drove their own into the Country, on the Ships

* Hon. *Richard How* and *Dudley Diggs*, Eſqrs.

anchoring

anchoring in the Road) he ought not to have complained; for being an Inhabitant in the Town, he was as much a Negro as either themſelves.

The Gentlemen preſent may recollect, whilſt the Accuſations were ſetting forth, profound Silence was maintain'd; but when the Defendant intended to ſpeak, a mighty Din of Tongues, Drums, Horns, old Iron, and other Negro Inſtruments was made to confuſe and drown what he ſaid.

In ſhort, after much diſagreeable Clamour, a Demand was made by the Negro Aſſembly of nine Anchors of Rum before he ſhould be permitted to ſpeak: Which, it muſt be confeſſed, had not Governour *Roberts* kindly interpoſed, whom the Negroes greatly reſpected, would not have been mitigated, nor but by his Influence the Affair accommodated.

The Day following, a Tax was laid by the Negroes upon the ſame Gentleman *for the Liberty of Trading*; theſe Impoſitions were duly ſatisfy'd, but no Recompence made for the Sheep. Have not the like Practices been exerciſed againſt *William Husbands*, * Eſq;

Can Courteſy be expected to private Merchants, or Emolument to the Nation in general, when Self-intereſt is the only point attended to? when worthy Men of good Con-

* Refer to a Letter in the Hands of Mr. *Roberts*, wherein the *Cape Coaſt* Negroes have been ſince ſpirited up to bring a Palaver againſt Mr. *Husbands*, though one of the Council.

ſultation,

ſultation, Reſolution and Performance are obliged to give place to the unqualified irreſolute and unworthy Ambition! Subject to no Controll; and private Lucre in theſe Parts too ſoon overcame the Modeſty of ſuch Men; who to promote the Latter would not ſtudy to oblige the Negroes with a Sacrifice of any Man's Life or Fortune.

As Thorns among Lillies, ſo is their Love to Free Trade; otherwiſe *Cudjo*'s Sallary had not been rais'd to 100 *l. per Annum*, Gold Value; a Stipend ſufficient to pay four more powerful Cabocheers, thereby to engroſs the Trade of *Cape-Coaſt* Town and Country.

Nor would ſuch unjuſt Methods have been taken as to oblige ſeveral trading Men to take ſolemn Oaths not to diſpoſe of a Slave but to the Caſtles, nor a Man † taken into Partnerſhip and promoted to the Command of *Tantumquerry*, that would have abandoned *Dixcove* to the *Dutch* and Negroes who beſieged it; and ſuffered unnoticed to cannonade a *Britiſh* * Trader at *Lagos* for hoiſting a Flag at his Factory. (Which thoſe Natives ſo much reſented, that with Difficulty they were reſtrain'd from beſieging the Caſtle.) Nay, ~~though he fir'd upon him whilſt the latter was at Repoſe, and beat down Part of his Bed Chamber, did it touch the Soul, he make the leaſt Impreſſion on the great Pa-~~

† One *Brew*.
* Mr. *John Stokes*.

ſhaw;

though he fired upon him whilst the latter was at Repose, and Beat down part of his Bed Chamber, did it touch the Soul

ſhaw. On the contrary, when a Gentleman * hinted to him, that the Chief was ſuſpicious he ſhould be broke for ſuch Behaviour, ſaid like a fit Director for an open Trade, 'Then 'the Man is a Fool, or he need not have ſuch 'Apprehenſions, cannot he perceive by my 'taking no Notice thereof, that he is in no 'Danger of being removed. As I can't 'appear publickly in it, I can't give this 'under Hand; but if he minds our Trade, 'he has nothing to fear.' Is it not clear from hence, that the Traffic is abſolutely become a private Jobb, and will the good Merchants in general permit it to remain ſo, and countenance a Man that declares he will have a large *Dutch* † Ship from *Holland* to ingroſs the ſame with, if he can't do it with *Engliſh* Merchandize.

It may here be objected, that ſeveral Slaves have been publicly diſpos'd of on the Coaſt to the Commanders of trading Veſſels;—— ſo that the whole Affair is not become ſo private a Jobb.——For Anſwer, it is confeſs'd, ſeveral were ſold to Captain *Stroud* of *Briſtol, &c. &c.* but of what ſort were they?—— to the Author's Knowledge little other than Refuſe; or the very Cullings left from thoſe ſent by the *Prince Edward.*——Can any Gentleman think prime Slaves will be barter'd away by any *Body* of Traders——who

* Mr. *John Ruſſel* now in *London.*

† Refer to Mr. *Roberts* for Confirmation.

have Ships lying ready——or in Expectance to tranſport them at beſt Advantage themſelves? Can the Man be expected truly to regard the *Britiſh* Intereſt or Subjects, who at the publick Table declared he acknowledged no ROYAL MASTER *; and never to prefer Mr. *Ruſſel* a Factor in the Service, becauſe recommended by a Gentleman, who after the Rebellion, (in conſideration of his good Services) had the tranſporting of above half his Countrymen concerned therein.

Can he be thought to have the Welfare of the Merchants at Heart, who ſuffers the *Dutch* to hoiſt their Colours, and poſſeſs *Anooko Engliſh* Territory in the *Fantyn* Country, and not take one Step to prevent ſuch Proceedings, or diſpoſſeſs them, becauſe it would be attended with a little Expence; though Capt. *How* gave it in Charge, and was aſſured it ſhould be done.

Would a Man who bore the leaſt Reſpect to his Country, or regarded the Extenſion of its Trade, when Governour *Stockwell*, [who by Mr. *Roberts*'s Aſſiſtance, hath ſettled at the important Cape of *Apolonia*, notwithſtanding the Efforts of *John Van Voorſt*, General of *Elmina*, who would have expended 500 Bendys † for the like Privilege] applied for a Carpenter to erect a Flag-Staff to hoiſt *Engliſh* Colours, that *Britiſh* Commanders might ſee

* As *per* Affidavit of Captain *Emerton* now in *London*.
† A Bendy is 8 *l*.

who were Poſſeſſors thereof; have bid him in Anſwer, hoiſt *French* Colours *,—*Spaniſh*, the *Moguls*, or the Devils for what he cared, he ſhould have no Aſſiſtance.

Or when Governour *Roberts* had concluded an Agreement with *Achampo*, King of *Popo*, that the *Engliſh* ſhould ſettle or build a Fortreſs in his Territories, and ſolely enjoy the Trafic, and as an Hoſtage for the Truth, ſent his favourite Son †, have hurried a Meſſenger thither to fruſtrate and prevent the ſame. By ſuch Men as the former, and ſuch Means it may be truly ſaid on the one Hand, the Trade to *Africa* is in a fair Way of being extended; and as truly on the other, That by ſuch Directors and ſuch Management, it is in as fair a Way to be contracted.

Again, After Captain *How* in the *Gloria*, ſo bravely worked a Peace in *Ahanta*, and the Heir of *Boſſu* came to *Cape-Coaſt* with ſeveral notorious Revolters, who had not only been Principals in the Blockade of *Dixcove* fifteen Months, but at a Congreſs turned Evidences in Behalf of the *Dutch*; would any Rational have made a Cabocheer of the former, and advanced his Salary beyond the Linguiſt and Town Cabocheer's, who loſt a conſiderable Number of Slaves in the Siege, and continued Loyal to the *Engliſh* to the very Concluſion of the Affair; nay, he refuſed to pay

* As *per* Certificate of Mr. *Stockwell*, in the Author's Hands.
† Now in *London*.

Acca *

*Acca** his Salary due, which Mr. *Roberts* not only diſcharged out of his Pocket, but advanced, in conſideration of his faithful Services, and continues to pay the ſame on the Coaſt to this Day.

I ſay, would any Council or Body of People, who did not actually *ſympathize with Rebels*, have careſſed them on their own Conditions? to wit, That the Company's Gold-Taker, and other Dependants (Sufferers by the War), ſhould be turned out of their Employ, nay, baniſhed with their Families the *Abanta* Kingdom, and this at a Time when not the leaſt Neceſſity moved to it.——Unmerciful Terms! On ſuch inhuman Conditions might a Peace have been concluded long before. Is it to be ſuppoſed Negros will adventure their Lives again in Defence of an *Engliſh* Fortification, when the Reward of their Service is not only Baniſhment from their Country, but Abandonement to the Enemies they fought againſt. But what care the Managers! Self-Intereſt is become their Study! nay their Recreation! at the Expence of the Public Good, which is internally Hurt.

Are ſuch Men then to remain at the Head of Affairs, or is a Director fit to conduct, whoſe Abilities were never experienced, whoſe Sufficiency was never approved, who alarmed the World with one Plan in Print, and in

* *Dixtove* Linguiſt, who defended that Fort fifteen Months with his own Negroes.

Performance behaved the reverſe; propoſed *abandoning the Fort at* Whydah *, and the Inſtant he had the Direction of Affairs, ſent a large Draught of the publick Goods thither, took the Governour into Confederacy, and declared *that* Fortification of more Conſequence than all the reſt.

Who now publiſhes a Tract for a Joint-Stock, and now another for a free Trade, who lower'd all Calculations for Support of the Settlements, and on Experience found his own Sum not half ſufficient to maintain the Garriſons; and whoſe Integrity, I muſt ſay, is in Proportion to his Knowledge.

There may be People in *England*, (tho' I am ſorry there ſhould) who will not like the unpleaſant Sounds of theſe neceſſary Truths; but were they here to experience Things, the Caſe would be otherwiſe. Here's ſomething ſo contaminating to Virtue, that the Inſtant a Man, (who hath only his own Intereſt at Heart,) ſets his Foot on Shore, he is infected with the Calamity of Diſhoneſty. Farewell Aſſurances of Honour——Farewell Declarations of Juſtice made in *England*.

Would it be pleaſant to one of them, when ſending a ſmall Veſſel to *Popo*, to ſee the Officers of the Public, with the Company's *European* and *African* Slaves, toiling and buſtling Day and Night, as if the laſt Penny was at Stake, to diſpatch a Sneau, † aſſorted

* See *The Detection.*

† Prince *Edward.*

with

with the Government's Merchandize, to get thither before him, and foreſtall the Market.

Would it be agreeable to the Commanders from *London*, *Briſtol*, and *Liverpool*, did a Dozen of them lye at *Annamabo* to complete their Cargoes, to have the Doctor *, inſtead of attending the Sick, come thither in the Veſſel aforeſaid, and command the Trade by Virtue of the choice public Supplies; nay, by ſuch Means to ſee the Sneau diſpatched before their Faces, as Captain *Yewart* † can teſtify, with upwards of a hundred fine Slaves? the Preſident declaring, he would have three other Sneaus on the Coaſt, on Account of himſelf and Company.

Was it not an indiſputable Inſtance of their Regard to free Trade, when at a Time the late Governour wanting to purchaſe a few Slaves, (having parted with forty to Captain *Yewart* to expidite him off the Coaſt,) went among the Forts with a Cargo for ſuch Purpoſe; for the Preſident to diſpatch Orders to his Chiefs ‡ not to ſell any Slaves to him; but if he gave 7 *ozs.* they ſhould give 8, if 9, they 10 of their very beſt Goods on the Head of a Slave, to prevent the formers Deſigns: Is not this ingroſſing the Traffic, obſtructing free Trade, and by advancing the Price, ſuperlatively injurious?

* *Mackiel.* † Of *Liverpool.*

‡ For the Truth the Reader is referred to *John Roberts*, Eſq;

Had

Had I not at Heart the Reader's Patience, a thouſand ſuch Injuries could be enumerated; but to harp no longer on the Affair of Trade! to ſay not a Word more on the Miſapplication of the public Aid.

Why are not the Fortifications ſupported and Prerogative maintained? Why are the public Materials ſent out by the *Flying Flamborough* to repair the former, become for want of Care and Converſion, national Rubbiſh? Why is an inland Intereſt neglected with the Natives? And why the Structures inſtead of Signs of Sovereignty, rendered diſgraceful Marks of Poſſeſſion? Will any Gentleman aſſure me *Winnebah* Fortreſs is not become ſuch, when Mr. *Withers* does not dare to adventure into his Town, *the Natives having become ſo ſaucy and cruel*; nay ſcarce to the Gates of the Fort, from the ſudden Power thrown into their Hands. Did he not complain to Governour *Roberts* of this, and that two of his Townſmen had inſulted him in his Caſtle on the Change of Affairs; did he not lament to the Author, that he had not been for ſome Months to the Waterſide? nay, did not I ſee his Garden was become deſolate, and his little Offices tumbled to ruins, ſo great the Danger of cultivating the one, and Hazard of repairing the other? Is not the Chief of *Tantumquerry*, at this Inſtant, under the ſame Dilemma?

In the late Governour's Time, notwithſtanding a long expenſive War with the *Dutch* and *Ahanteſe* at *Dixcove*, *Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle* was repaired in ſome Meaſure, *Succonde* greatly; and 100,000 Billets of Wood collected at *Commenda*, to burn Lime for rebuilding the fallen Curtain of that Fortification. But certainly the Managers ſince are intoxicated with a Spirit of Contrariety and Reſolution, not only to neglect the Fortifications, but to ruin and unhinge the Trade in general, by ingloriouſly renouncing the Authority, Laws, and Privileges annexed thereto—— its very Soul and Support.——

It needs no Prophet to prognoſticate as things are circumſtanced; Foreigners will reap the Harveſt of *Britiſh* Labourers——that the Spring of the *Weſt-India* Planter will wither; and a Day come when a Lady of the firſt Quality will deplore the Scarcity of Sugar; and an honeſt Subject over his Glaſs, lament the Expence of a Pipe of *Virginia*.

A certain Power had long poſſeſſed the important Settlement of *Annamaboa*, when the *Auriſtamme* and *L' Content* were on the Coaſt, and *Dixcove* Fort been in the Hands of Allies, had not a Man been in the Direction of Affairs of uncommon Induſtry and Generoſity *, whoſe Courage was never ſunk by Adverſity, of which he ſhared a large Pro-

* See the Preſents made the *Fantyns*, in the Accounts of *John Roberts*, Eſq; on the two *French* Men of War lying at *Annamaboa*.

portion

portion †; nor could Prosperity, had he been blessed with it, have lessened his Circumspection where the public Welfare was concerned. In truth his Conduct needs not the Tongue or Pen of a Flatterer; for the most supercilious Man cannot with Justice say other, than that he was ever Intent upon advancing the Emolument of his Country, and thereby Fame; or the most friendly Voice in behalf of his Successor deny, but that *his* Aims are after private Lucre, at the Expence of the national Good, on a Comparison of their Behaviours the same will be manifest.

The one by a generous Disbursement *of his own Property*, not only sent two *French* Men of War of the Line from *Annamaboa*, but made the Cabocheers fire upon them.

The other on a later Occasion, *viz.* the third of *February*, 1741, tho' a Squadron was anchored there—had actually an Officer on Shore—marked out the Out-lines for a Fortification——and were complete with Materials for a Structure, lamented sending six Bottles of water'd Liquor (*tho' Supplies of the Public*) among the whole Commonwealth, to preserve that Territory he saw so tottering and unstable, which the Negroes with Contempt sent back.

Would any Man conceive the Author of *The Detection* [wherein the Company's Offi-

† Refer to Journal of the Siege of *Dixcove*, and Palaver thereupon.

cers

cers are ſo roundly charged with neglecting to ſend Preſents to the Kings and Cabocheers to promote Trade, and ſupport an Intereſt in the Country] could be ſo changed in his Temper, from what he laid down in Writing, as to endanger the *Britiſh* Property by the like Neglect.

Having touched upon the *French* Squadron at *Annamaboa*, &c. an Affair not only very alarming to the People in *England*, but the *Britiſh* Subjects and Negroes on this Coaſt, I ſhall conclude with giving the Reader a ſhort Detail of that Matter; the Intereſt of the Preſident among the Natives, and painful Part he took in accommodating Things, and ſending the *French* off the Coaſt.

The *Lys*, *Halcyon*, and *Anemone* anchored the Beginning of *February* in the Road of *Annamaboa*; the Meaſures they took are hinted above, as are the Efforts of the Preſident to diſconcert them.

Six Bottles of Spirits (had the ſame not been return'd) would have been of little Avail againſt 100 Anchors of Brandy, which the *French* ſent the *Fantyns* the firſt Day; nor could an Offer of 1500 Bendys, or 12000 *l.* to build a Fort, and ſettle there, be parried off with 40 *l.* of Gunpowder, eſpecially by a Man deſpiſed and unbeloved.

By the Diſreſpect the *Fantyns* bore one Man, from his Stingyneſs and Unpopularity, did the *French* gain Countenance, and a

Grant to erect a Caſtle on the *Engliſh* Territory. By the Love, Aſſiduity, and *Generoſity of the preceding Director, who on ſuch Occaſion went to *Annamaboa* (tho' out of Employment) did *John Currantee* retract ſuch Indulgence, and kept the *French* in Suſpence, till the 9th of *February* arrived the *Aſſiſtance* at *Cape-Coaſt*, *St. Albans* and *Sphinx*; never could a Thing happen luckier for the Satisfaction of private Perſons here, or Advantage of the Nation. The Reader is deſired to remark the following Queſtions and Anſwers are not introduced as Certain, but from Hearſay.

'On the Preſident's being asked, What 'the *French* did at *Annamaboa*? he an-'ſwer'd, He could not tell, he knew no-'thing of the Matter; *Neither in truth did* 'he, *having not ſo much as enquired about* 'their *Proceedings*, *nor knew he a* French 'Officer *was on Shore*.

'Being told there were Preſents from the 'Government, to give *John Currantee*, and 'asked, if he would go to *Annamaboa*, to 'enquire and learn what the *French* were 'about; anſwered, he could not go thither 'to ſettle a little Palaver, if he did, the 'Fantyns would expect him to run down 'on every Occaſion to adjuſt their private 'Differences.'

* He gave them one Preſent of 60 l. Sterling.

In

In ſuch Light ſtood this intereſting Affair, as a Trifle the Grand Mart of all the Gold Coaſt, trifling the mercantile Intereſt dependant thereon, trifling the Preſents from *England*, and as trifling the Charge of the Squadron; not only refuſed to aſſiſt himſelf in preſerving that invaluable Settlement, but tho' it was apprehended an Engagement might enſue between the Ships of *England* and *France*; poſitively forbid an experienced Sea Officer * to go thither as a Volunteer, and others † of the Garriſon who offer'd their Service.

In the End, two of the Council ‡ went to *Annamaboa* with the Commodore, where they landed with the Honourable Captains *Byron* and *Wheeler*, and were met by Governour *Roberts* and the *Fantyns*; the Commodore diſpoſed of the Preſents he had in Charge, and after exhorting the Natives to diſmiſs the *French* Officer they had on Shore, and continue in their Allegiance to the King of *Great-Britain*:

The *Fantyns* anſwered, (ſo accurate as could be interpreted), they had been well treated by Mr. *Stockwell* during the Time he was Governour. When he was turned out, they were ſatisfied becauſe Mr. *Roborts* was a good Man, and uſed them well, but was

* Captain *Emerton* now in *London*, &c.
† Mr. *John Ruſſel* now in *London*, &c.
‡ *Husbands* and *Young*.

turned out to make room for a Governour of what Sort they could not tell, who minded nothing but Cotton, and held his Hand too close; that had they received as good Usuage from him as the last Governour, they should not have taken the *Frenchman* on Shore, but behaved in the Manner they had done the Year before; that nothing could be got from the new President; if any of them went to *Cape-Coast*, they were ill used; for which Reason they were exasperated, and resolved to be in Friendship with the *French*; that the *English* Fort had been down near forty Years; that they had been often promised it should be rebuilt, which the *English* might have done so well as at *Anishan* and *Agga*. However, by the strong Assurances of the Commodore, that Things should be put upon another footing, and the Castles be proceeded upon, they promised to dismiss the *French* Officer; and in the Evening *John Currantee* sent for the late Governour, whom he told to be under no Concern, that when he had got what he could from the *Frenchman* he would would send him off, which was confirmed by *Coofs** and *Appea**.

In the mean Time, to do Matters effectually, the Commodore and Captains went on board the *French* Commander, whom the former with great Resolution, like a true

* Two Cabocheers, or Gentlemen Negroes.

English

Engliſhman, inſiſted ſhould depart thence, and take the Officer from Shore, or he was ready to compel him by force; which was agreed to, and for that Time a Stop put to the Affair, at the Expence of 30000 l. at leaſt to the Nation, which never would have happened, had a Man of Spirit been Maſter of the uſual public Supplies; by Virtue whereof *alone*, the *Fantyn* Intereſt might eaſily have been preſerved; and it muſt be confeſs'd, had leſs vigorous Meaſures, leſs Force, or leſs Courage in command been the Caſe, *Annamaboa* had been loſt——*perhaps irretrievably ſo.*

The World may criticiſe upon this Tract; they are welcome, they have a Right to do it. The Author is not exhauſted; he has farther Matter; he has other Teſtimony to introduce, which ſhall be dedicated to the Public occaſionally.

FINIS.

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